Psy 190 notes part 2

Psychology of Violence and Aggression (University of California, Merced)

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o OTHER FACTORS:

- Hostile attribution style
  - AKA: everyone else is an asshole
- Orobia de Castro et al., 2002: meta-analysis, including 41 studies w/ over 6,000 participants, confirmed link b/w hostile attribution style + aggression in children.
- Martinelli et al. 2018: more recent review of 27 studies, w/ children + adolescents, showed hostile attribution bias is related to physical + relational aggression - only reactive aggress.
  - not proactive / instrumental

o HOSTILITY: (cont.)

- hostile attribution style; assoc. w/ distorted memory
- Takarangi et al., 2008
  - participants given word lists w/ neutral, + later, violence related terms.
  - asked to recall wich words had been presented
    - participants w/ ↑ hostility more likely to remember violence related terms as being part of the neutral list.
  - primed by reading word list referring to insults, or given list of neutral words.
    - those who saw insult-related words = more likely to falsely remember seeing violent words.

o Self Esteem + Narcissism

- Comon Belief - aggressive ppl (eg. bullies) have low self esteem + engage in aggression to ↑ feelings for self-worth.
- Not so Simple...
  - Research shows evidence for sig. association b/w low self-esteem + aggression: Also showed reverse relationship, curvilinear relat., or no relationship at all.
  - What we do Know: Having genuinly ↑ self-esteem, reflected in objective achievments + mirrored in a (+) evaluation by others, works as a protective factor against aggression... however...

17

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- while ↓ self-esteem has been linked to aggression, via experience of shame + humiliation that elicits anger, which promotes aggressive behavior
  - Others argue aggression requires risk taking + confidence of success, which ppl w/ ↓ self-esteem don't normally have.
  - Suggest unrealistically ↑ ("inflated"), but ultimately fragile, self-esteem leads to aggressive behavior - narcissism

- NARCISSISM: problematic type of self-esteem, characterized by grandiose view of superiority + a sense of entitlement that leads to aggresion when the person's challenged by others.
  - aggression protects the ego, used to restore threatened sense of personal superiority.
  - particularly prone to aggressive behavior in response to percieved threats to their inflated self-worth, such as (-) feedback
- "An individual w/ high self-esteem thinks he or she is good, narcissist thinks he/she is better.

- Self control + Impulsivity
  - Self control - capacity/ability to stop, override, or alter unwanted behaviors
  - Executive Function - Cog. activities that govern goal-directed action + planning of behaviors, + endble adaptive responses to novel, complex, or ambigous situations
    - one's ability to display self control will depend on strength of their executive functioning.
  - Spoiler - individual's self control + executive functioning = ↑ associated w/ individual's likelihood of exhibiting aggressive behavior - ↓ self control = more aggression.
  - Deficits in executive functioning = prone to rumination, due to problems inhibiting anger related thoughts
    - Li et al., 2019: better self control linked to ↓ aggression, via reduced tendency to ruminate about "angry" events

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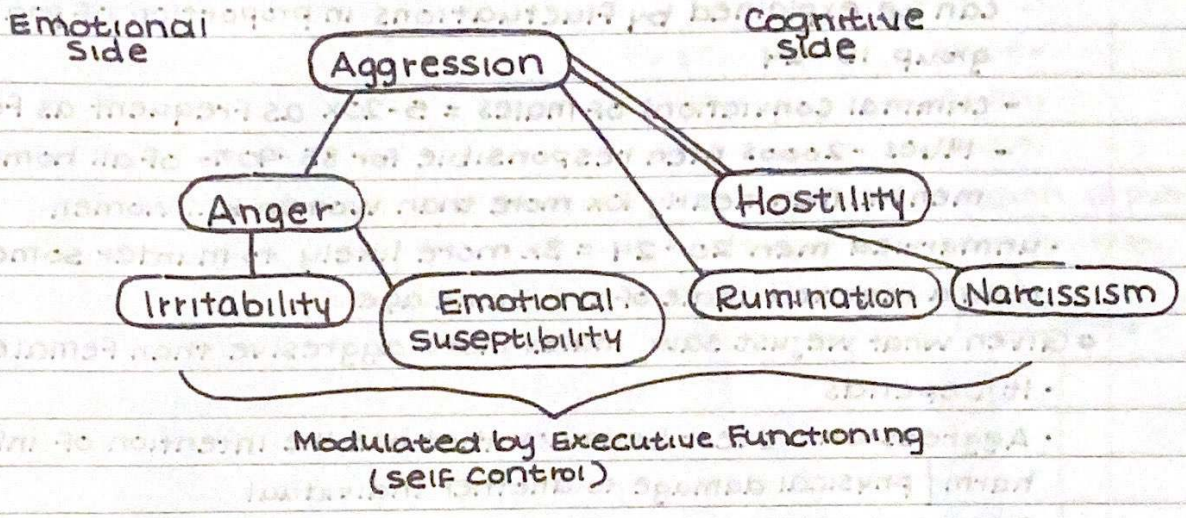
- Impulsivity = complicated construct, (research surrounding it)
  - Put simply: Impulsivity = opposite of self control - ↑ likelihood to engage in an act (any act)



o Violent Crime: The Numbers
- most important principle
  - The Pareto Principle: 80% of effects come from 20% of the causes***
    - o for many, but not all, events
    - o True for many issues in... healthcare, computer programing, world income, sales, customer service, even language, and violent crime.
  - for example: Caspi et al., 2016
    - o "A segment comprising, 22% of cohort accounted for 81% of criminal convictions."
- when we encounter statements such as, "<pop X>" is statistically overrepresented in <crime Y>"
  - stop + remind ourselves "not all <pop X>"
  - Rather...
    - o small subject (often roughly 20%) of <pop X> is statistically overrepresented in <crime X>"
  - Then ask... why?

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- peak age for crime generally, + violent crime specifically, is less than 25
  - sig. portion of U.S. national crime rate trends over time can be explained by fluctuations in proportion of pop. in age group 15-24
  - criminal convictions of males = 5-20x as frequent as females
  - 1960s-2000s men responsible for 86-90% of all homicides; men kill men nearly 10x more than women kill women
- unmarried men 20-24 = 3x more likely to murder someone than a married male of the same age.

o Given what we just saw, males more aggresive than females?
- It Depends
- Aggression = overt behavior that has the intention of inflicting harm | physical damage to another individual
- Direct vs. Indirect Aggression:
  - Relational | indirect | covert aggression: gossip, catty comments, sharing secrets, ostracism, sarcasm, etc.
  - Physical | direct | overt aggression: hostility, anger, dominant behavior (approach behavior), phys. violence, etc.
- Simplifying decades of research
  - gender diffs. in aggression manifest early on (preschool age) + continue through development (w/ some getting bigger as time goes on)
  - Female aggression mostly indirect - studies show females more indirectly aggressive than males, some show males more indirectly aggressive than females, while others show no gender diffs.
  - males more physically aggressive at every time point

o Why Males?
- many attempts to account for diffs. - evolutionary, biological, + social
- Social Role Model - gender diffs. in aggressive behavior = product of diffs. in gender roles aquired in process of socialization.

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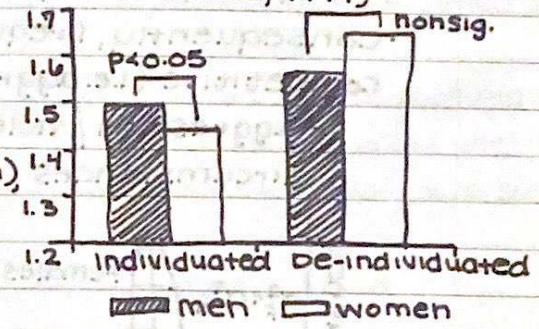
Involvment of Men in Violent Crime

	United States	Germany
murder + nonnegligent manslaughter	87.8%	87.5%
Rape	96.8%	99.0%
Robbery	84.9%	90.7%
aggravated assault	76.4%	80.3%

- Hypothesis: in social interaction allowing for aggression, in public they will adhere to expected gender roles, but if anonymous they will no longer adhere to roles (Lightdale + Prentice, 1994)
  - Participants played video game in which one could drop bombs on virtual opponent
  - when public (i.e. genders known) men dropped sig more bombs than women
  - when anonymous.



- Precarious manhood
  - hypothesis that manhood, in contrast to womanhood, seen as precarious state that requires continual social proof + validation
    - men feel especially threatened by challenges to masculinity
    - certain male stereotyped behaviors (physical aggression) may result from anxiety.

"manhood" itself = valuable resource, bc it can be lost at any time, must be constantly sought, established, + defended through one's life - ↑ likelihood of conflict + aggression.

- Vandello et al., 2008: Tested hypothesis across 5 studies
  - Studies 1-3: Documented robust belief in:
    1) pracarious nature of manhood relative to womanhood
    2) idea that manhood defined more by social proof than biological markers
  - Study 4: Demonstrated when men are made to feel their performance = gender atypical, men experience ↑ feelings of threat, similar - gender feedback = no effect on women.

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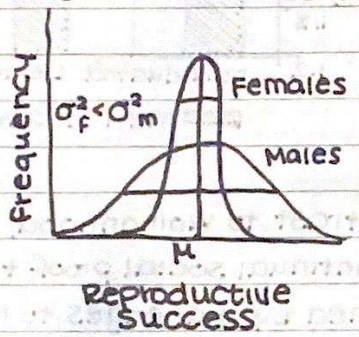
- Study 5: suggests threatening manhood (but not woman hood) activates physically aggressive thoughts.

o MATES:

- among non-human primates, females provide
  - egg
  - comitment to gestation
  - lactation
  - overall raising of young - hugely resource intensive
- males provide
  - sperm, often, little else
- consequently, frequently find coy, choosy females + intensly competitive (i.e. aggressive / violent) males
  - aggression / violence still variable due to other environmental circumstances



o STATUS: (or rather, high rank) can essentially be thought of as access to food, mates, + other resources

- among males, high status = more offspring + ↓ stress in stable hierar.
- among females, high status = higher infant survival rate, faster mating daughters, rapid production of young, better territories, + more food.

o Males + Status

- In males, physically aggressive behavior appears to be maximized by status competition, not necessarily mating competition
- another way of saying this: regarding status + phys. aggression males are more concerned w/ other males than females
- Example:
  - multiple experiments (male+female), general results:
    - for men, status motivates ↑ direct aggression
    - mating motivates ↑ direct aggression only when other males were observing.

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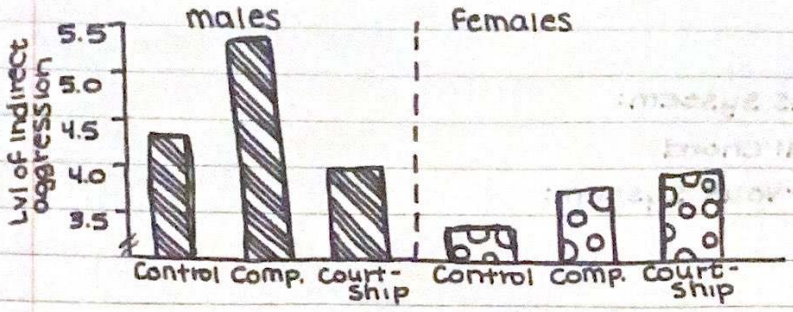

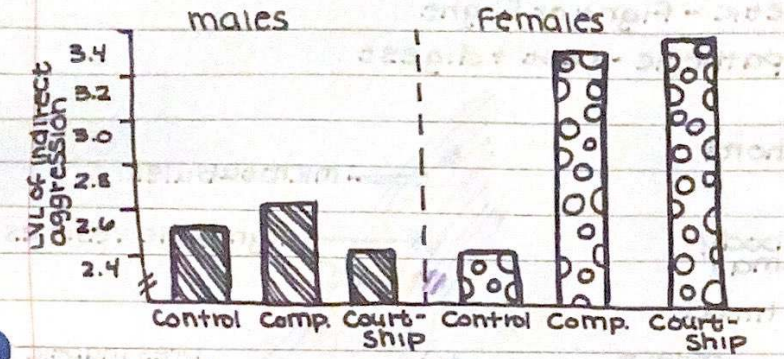

- among humans, status is similar: the degree of influence one possesses over resource allocations, conflicts, + group decisions.
- One Path to Status? Dominance vs. Prestige
  - Dominance: use of intimidation + coercion to attain status based on effective indicator of fear
  - Prestige: Status granted to indivs. who are rec. + respected for skills, succes + knowledge.

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- Dominant indivs. tend to be narcissistic, aggressive, extraverted, disagreeable, + agentic
- Prestigious indivs. tend to have high genuine self-esteem + be conscientious, socially accepted, agentic, intelligent, prosocial, + capable advisors.
- Preliminary Findings, Johnson, Burk, + Kirkpatrick, 2007:
  - Dominance (+) related to aggression, prestige unrelated or inversely related to aggression
  - unrelated to testosterone levels, prestige inversely related to testosterone levels in some studies, not consistently replicat.

-CNS

- Neuroendocrinology of Aggression
  - The Players:
    - Central Nervous System (CNS = brain + spinal cord)
    - peripheral Nervous system (PNS = everything not brain + spinal chord)
    - endocrine system: glands/hormones, using heart + vasculature for distribution.

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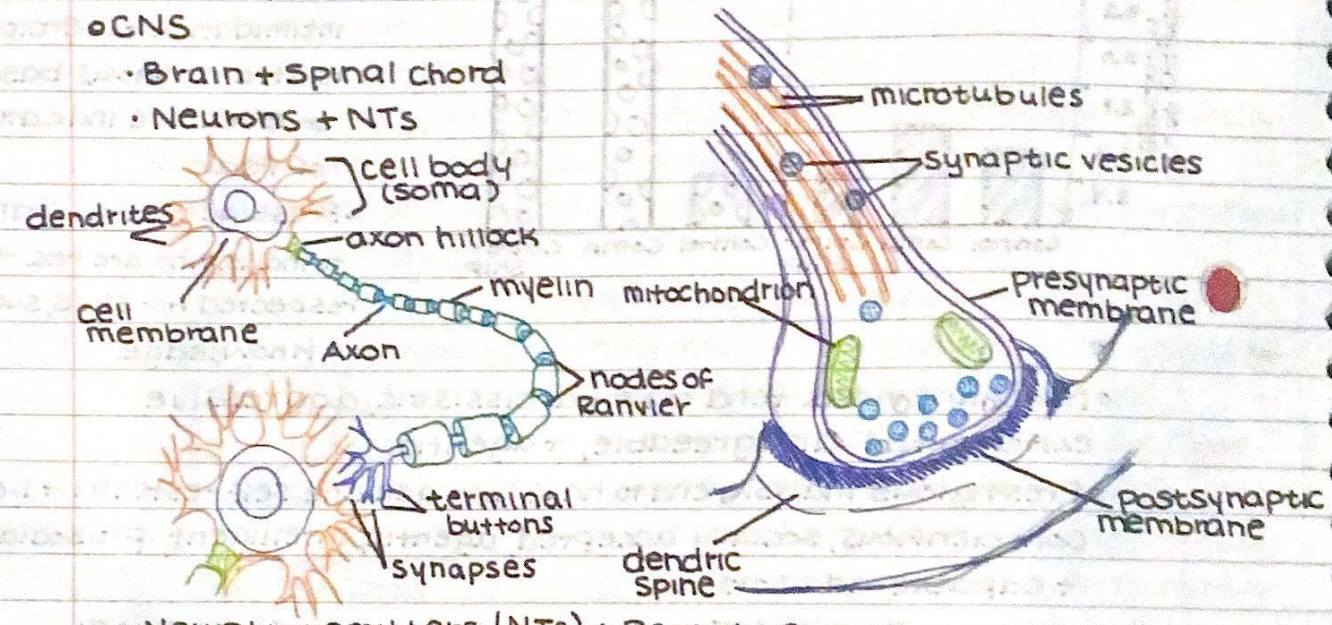
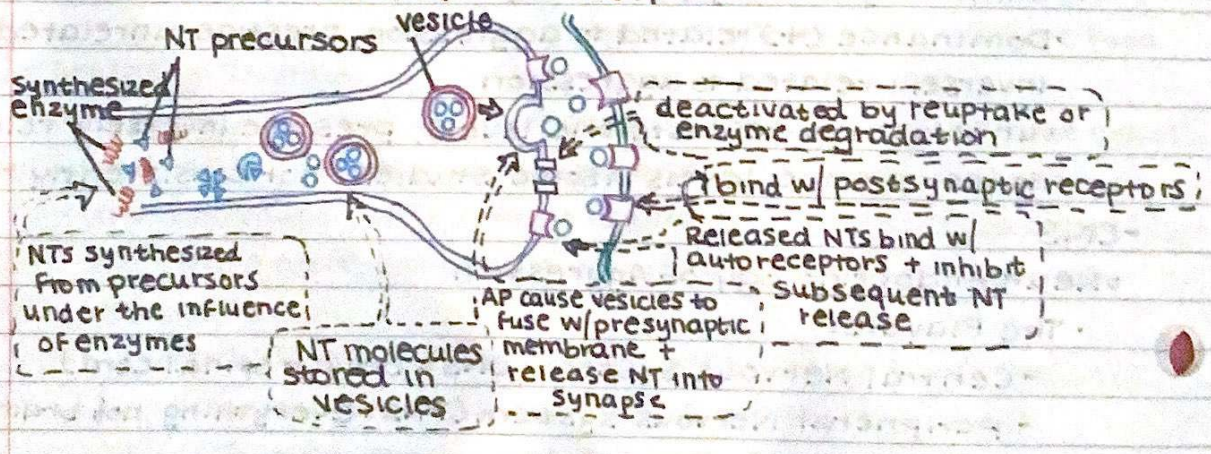
- CNS vs. PNS
  - Central Nervous System:
    - brain + spinal chord
  - Peripheral Nervous System:
    - Somatic
    - autonomic
      - sympathetic - fight or flight
      - parasympathetic - rest + digest
- CNS
  - Brain + Spinal chord
  - Neurons + NTs



  - Neurotransmitters (NTs) + Receptors


NT precursors
vesicle
Synthesized enzyme
deactivated by reuptake or enzyme degradation
bind w/ postsynaptic receptors
Released NTs bind w/ autoreceptors + inhibit subsequent NT release
NTs synthesized from precursors under the influence of enzymes
NT molecules stored in vesicles
AP cause vesicles to fuse w/ presynaptic membrane + release NT into synapse

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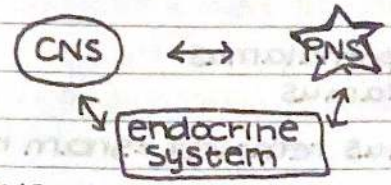
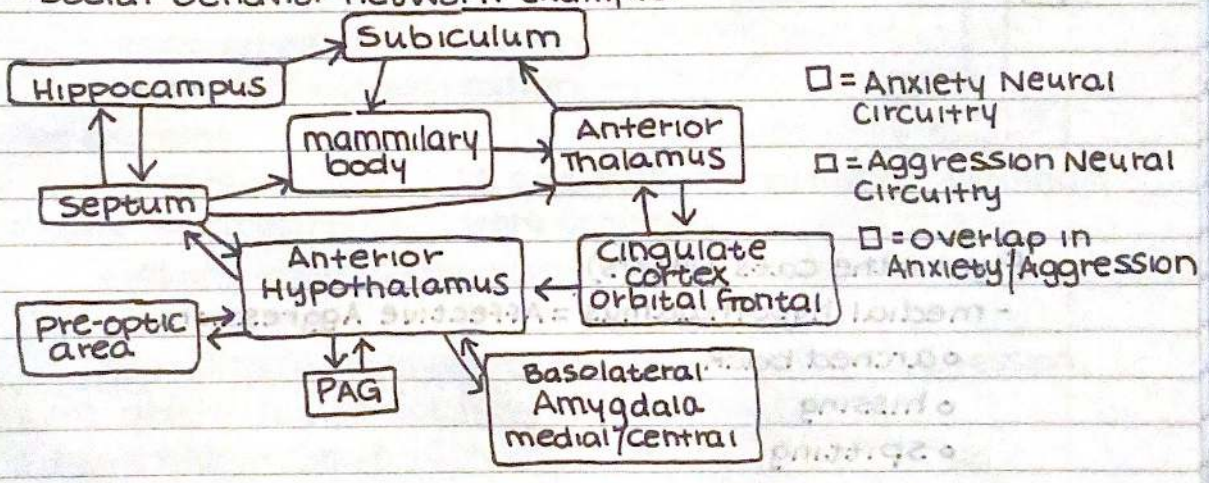
- Endocrine System:
  - Hormones (chem. signals) produced by glands + secreted into blood, then sent through body
- The Big Picture



- CNS: Neural Circuits
  - much research comes from non-human animal studies
  - good evidence linking human + non-human structures to aggression.
  - In both cases, neural circuits assoc. w/ aggression consist (mostly) of subcortical structures.
  - Circuits not solely for aggression: "social behavior network"
  - Social behavior network example:



  - Note - overlapping structures for diff. emotions
  - side-note: aggression + anxiety associated
  - early studies - decerebrated dogs + cats
    - Cortex removed, hypothalamus intact = sham rage (a.)

cont. →

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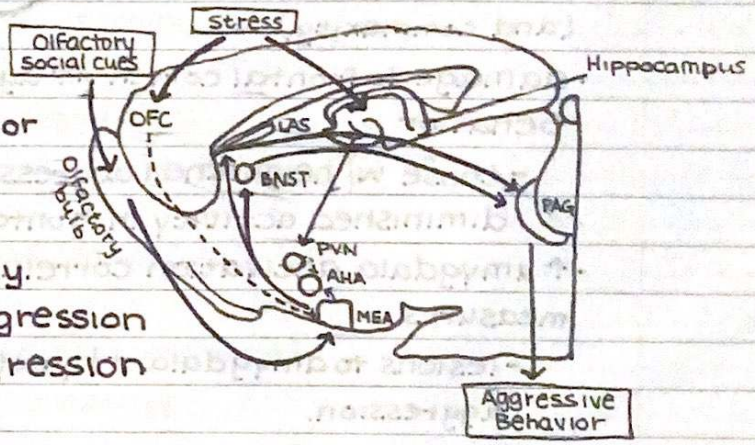
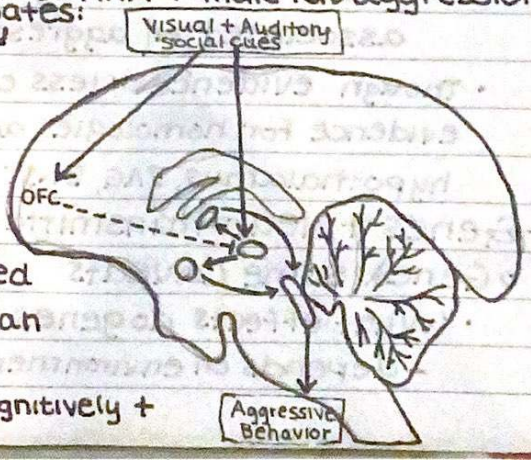
- Key to following figures:
  - MEA = Medial Amygdala
  - AHA = Anterior Hypothalamic Area
  - PVN = Paraventricular Nucleus (hyp)
  - BNST = Bed Nucleus of Stria Terminals
  - LAS = Lateral septum
  - PAG = Periaqueductal Gray Matter
  - OFC = Orbitofrontal cortex
- The Evidence: Rodents
  - Circuit diagram: follow the flow
    - arrow = excite
    - bar = inhibit
    - each region either ↑ or ↓ aggression when either activated or lesioned, respectively.
      - activated = ↑ aggression
      - lesioned = ↓ aggression



  - For Example:
    - Lesions to LAS, BNST, AHA, and MEA ↓ aggression b/w male rats, suggesting excitatory connections.
      - lesions to OFC ↑ aggression, suggesting inhibitory connections
      - electrical stimulation of AHA ↑ male rat aggression.
- The Evidence: Non-human Primates:
  - Like before: follow the flow
    - any similarities?
      - MEA > AHA, BNST > PAG > behavior
    - inhibitory inputs
  - data slightly more complicated (context dependent) in non-human primates
    - primates more complicated cognitively + [illegible] than rodents.



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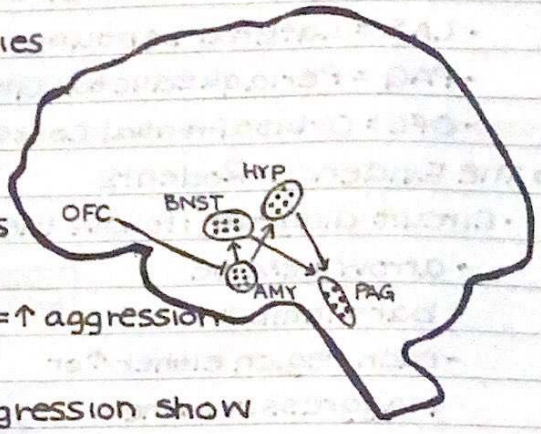
- Lesions to AHA = ↑ aggression when in groups (more threat) but ↓ aggression when in pairs.
  - nonetheless, similar structures highly associated, e.g., OFC + amygdala

- The Evidence: Humans
  - evidence supporting homologies across species, but...
  - data = less conclusive, in large part due to methodological constraints (and complexity)



  - damage to frontal cortex = ↑ aggression behavior
    - those w/ heightened aggression show diminished activity in frontal cortex
  - ↑ amygdala activation correlated w/ ↑ score on aggression measures.
    - lesions to amygdala + hypothalamus often results in ↓ aggression.

- CNS: Review so Far
  - Reactive vs. proactive aggression (a.k.a, affective vs. predatory) likely have seperate but overlapping circuits
  - much evidence comes from non-human animal models:
    - recurrent theme of particular subcortical structures associated w/ aggression.
  - Though evidence = less conclusive in humans, there is good evidence for homologies across species, including: amygdala, hypothalamus, PAG, BNST, + orbitoFrontal cortex.

- Genes + Neurotransmitters

- Genes: some caveats
  - "What effects do genes have on behavior?"
    - depends on environment genes are in

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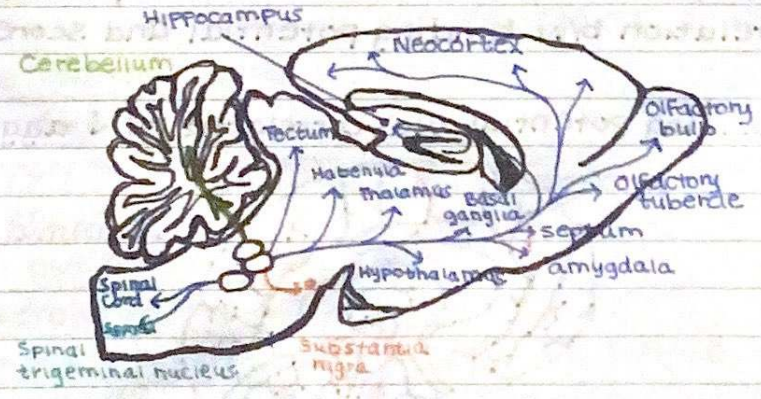
- When asked, "is it nature or nurture?" the answer is almost always, "Yes."
- Antiquated notions of "nature vs. nurture" are often more confounding than helpful
- "Biological vs. Learned" is downright misleading
  - Learning is biological: learning is instantiated in a physical brain and is accounted for by biological + physiological changes.
  - Innate vs learned may be more accurate, but still not precise; we may have an innate proclivity to learn some things more effectively than others, + some innate proclivities can nonetheless be highly modified via learning.

○ CNS: NT's, Receptors, + Beyond

- Overview of "biological signals"
  - Serotonin (5-HT)
  - Dopamine
  - Monoamine oxidase A (MAOA)
    - ○ genetic component
  - Steroid Hormones (e.g. testosterone)
    - ○ transition to endocrinology

○ SEROTONIN (5H-T)

- Rodents:



  - Serotonergic circuits: To and from all structures associated w/ aggression.

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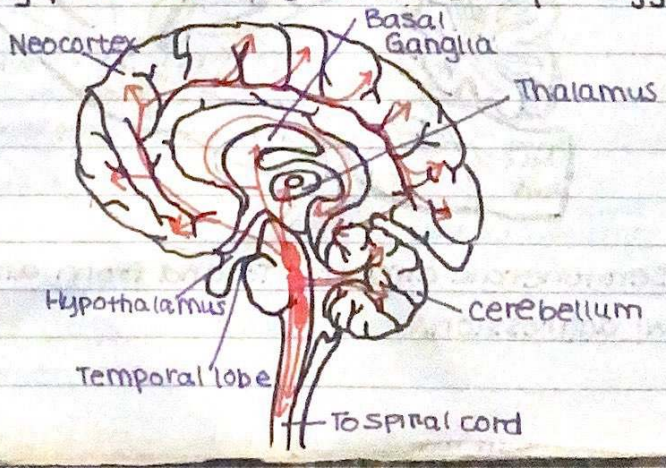
- general principle: More 5-HT means less aggression + less 5-H-T means more aggression. Examples:
  - drugs that block the synthesis, or release, of 5-HT ↑ aggressive behavior in mice.
  - ↑ precursors of, or administering drugs that inhibit reuptake, results in ↓ aggression.
- Knockout mice:
  - gene that codes for a receptor is removed... 5-HT1a + 5-HT1b autoreceptors: deactivation ↑ serotonin levels
  - 5-HT1a + 1b Knockout mice generally less aggressive.

• Vervet Monkeys:
- General Principle: More 5-HT = ↓ aggression and less 5-HT, means more aggression. Examples:
  - injected drugs that ↑ or ↓ serotonergic activity, aggression decreased / increased, respectively
    - Side note - dominance achieved by monkeys w/ enhanced serotonergic activity

• Humans:
- Tracking binding potential of radio tagged 5-HT1a antagonist (PET)
  - Roughly chem. "Knockout" for autoreceptors
- (-) correlation b/w binding potential and score on aggression survey
  - ↑ binding potential was correlated w/ ↓ aggression.



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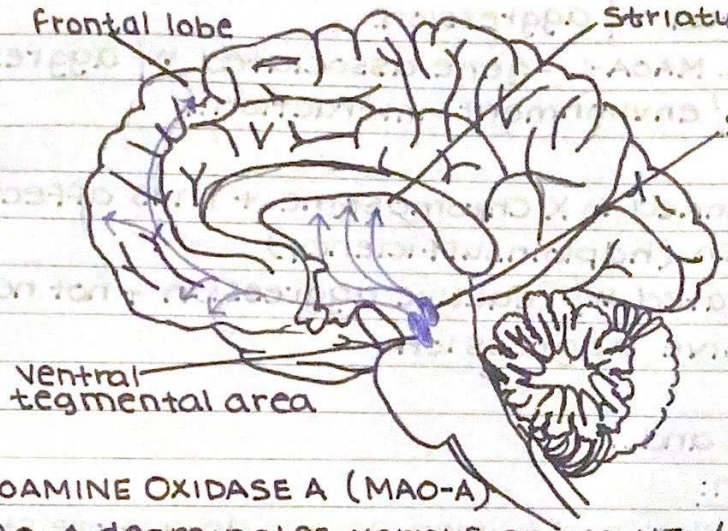
◦DOPAMINE

- ultimately, role of dopamine in aggression = not yet certain
- dopaminergic circuits must be in tact for aggressive behavior
  - necessary for aggression but not sufficient.
- circuits may be more involved w/ arousal needed for aggression.



◦MONOAMINE OXIDASE A (MAO-A)

- MAO-A deaminates various amine NTs (i.e. breaks down by removing an amino group)
- MAO-A = enzyme = protein ⟶ encoded in genes.
  - gene for MAO-A = polymorphic (multiple slightly varying codes resulting in slightly varying versions, or amounts, of the protein.
- The "Warrior" Gene
- MAOA-L
  - polymorphism associated w/ low (L) expression of MAO-A enzyme.
  - low MAO-A, more NTs
- ↑ serotonin = ↓ aggression
  - MAOA-L = less MAO-A, more NTs, + more serotonin
- ↑ serotonin in typically developed brain does indeed tend to reduce aggression, however...
  - too much serotonin in developing brain leads to "faulty wiring" and ↑ aggression

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- "MAO-A-linked circuit dysregulation"
  - enhanced reactivity to threat cues
  - ↑ likelyhood to experience anger, frustration, + bitterness
  - ↓ sensitivity to cues that elicit prosocial behavior
- Key Points
  - MAOA-L results in dysregulation + neural circuits associated w/ aggression.
    - Thus... MAOA-L = gene associated w/ aggression... BUT...
    - gene/environment interaction!!
- Addendum
  - MAOA-L linked to X chromosome + thus affects males more often (haploinsufficiency)
    - associated w/ reactive aggression + not necessarily proactive aggression

- Testosterone
  - Testosterone and...
    - Aggression:
      - as per usual, non-human animal data more straightforward than human data:
        - ↑ testosterone = ↑ aggression (kind of)
      - human data not nearly as straightforward...
  - Background
    - Relationship status: It's complicated
  - Non-Human Animals
    - Castrated rats: little, if any, testosterone; nearly complete absence of fighting
      - supplimenting testosterone restores fighting behavior
    - Androgen receptor gene knockout mice show notably attenuated aggression.
    - Seems aggression specific
      - ex: associated w/ territorial + dominance aggression, but not predatory aggression.

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- Testosterone influences (some type of) aggression, but aggression also influences testosterone (reciprocal)
  - ex: Birds - (T) ↑ in responce to mating challenges (+ becomes predictive of territorial aggression) otherwise ↓ in periods of stability (lvls unrelated to aggression)
- (T) strongly correlated w/ dominance (gaining/maintaining status
  - persists across many species: lemurs, monkeys, chimps, bird, fish, lambs, so on
- Predicts status - motivated aggression in times of uncertainty but not in times of stability (i.e. effects of (T) on dominance - related aggression = context dependent)

- Testosterone and...
  - Humans
    - Similar trend - early research showed indivs. w/ ↑ (T) tend to be more aggressive + socially dominant
      - ex: men + women w/ violent crimes had ↑ (T) concentratns than those w/ non-violent crimes.
      - such findings correlational / confounded
- Testosterone and Humans
  - Dominance (Status)
    - Status seeking behavior may include aggression (+ violence) but not limited to it:
      - remember - aggression + violence can occassionally result in ↓ Status.
    - In humans, (T) levels associated w/ status seeking behavior? (in a word: Yes)
- More Theory
  - The Challenge Hypothesis:
    - Originally developed to account for associations b/w (T) and aggression in a monogamous species of birds
      - ex-Birds: (T) ↑ in response to mating challenges, but is otherwise low in periods of social stability.

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- relationships persist across many species: fish, birds, lambs, lemurs, monkeys, chimps, and so on.
- (T) predicts status-motivated aggression in times of uncertainty, but not in times of stability (i.e., effects of (T) on dominance-related aggression = context dependent)
- Chimps are a little different - neither seasonal breeders nor monogamous
  - Instead of seasonal fluctuations of (T) (and correlated aggression/violence), researchers reason fluctuations should vary w/ presence of parous, estrous females.
  - rates of (T) + violence among males should be maximal among most dominant indivs.
  - Short version: Yup!
- So why not humans
- It's complicated
  - highly variable mating habits and male parental (paternal) care among humans
    - often a function of prevailing environmental conds.

~~the Challenge~~

- Hypothesis:

1) adult levels of (T), beginning at puberty, shouldn't ↑ levels of aggression (no presence of mating opportunities/challenges)
2) adult males should show sensitivity to challenges associated w/ sexual opportunities or competition w/ other males, resulting in ↑ (T)
3) Under such conditions, the ↑ in (T) should be correlated w/ ↑ in aggression.
4) pending paternal care should result in ↓ (T)
5) (T)/aggression correlated generally, but not necessarily b/w (T) and status - unless status was aquired via aggression.

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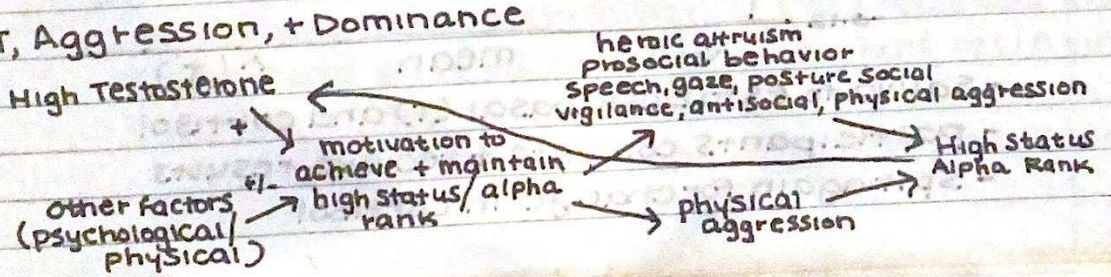
- Hypothesis - Empirical support (Archer, 2006):
  1) Largely supported: basically zero evidence of aggression correlated w/ pubertal ↑ in T.
  2) a. sexual arousal - Some supporting evidence but more work needs to be done
     b. Competition - subtleties abound, but overall supported
  3) almost zero evidence, but lots of confounds, i.e., the ways in which hormones were measured, the ways in which aggression was measured - very inconsistent
  4) mixed evidence - research ongoing
  5) very weak supporting evidence, taken from studies not directly testing challenge hypothesis

- The Biosocial Model of Status
  - Claim 1) Dominance vs. Defense - taking status vs. giving it; aggression + violence may be an outcome of dominance but not guaranteed.
  - Claim 2) ↑ Testosterone is about dominance and not aggression, per se.
    - It's not obvious why there would be selective advantage in aggressivness per se, apart from its dominating function... We therefore frame our inquiry around domination (+ deferential) behavior as being theoretically prior to aggressivness, leaving as an important but subsidiary question why men
  - Claim 3) Testosterone + dominance reciprocal - each reinforce each other, thus more of a focus on T dynamics rather than basal T

- T, Aggression, + Dominance



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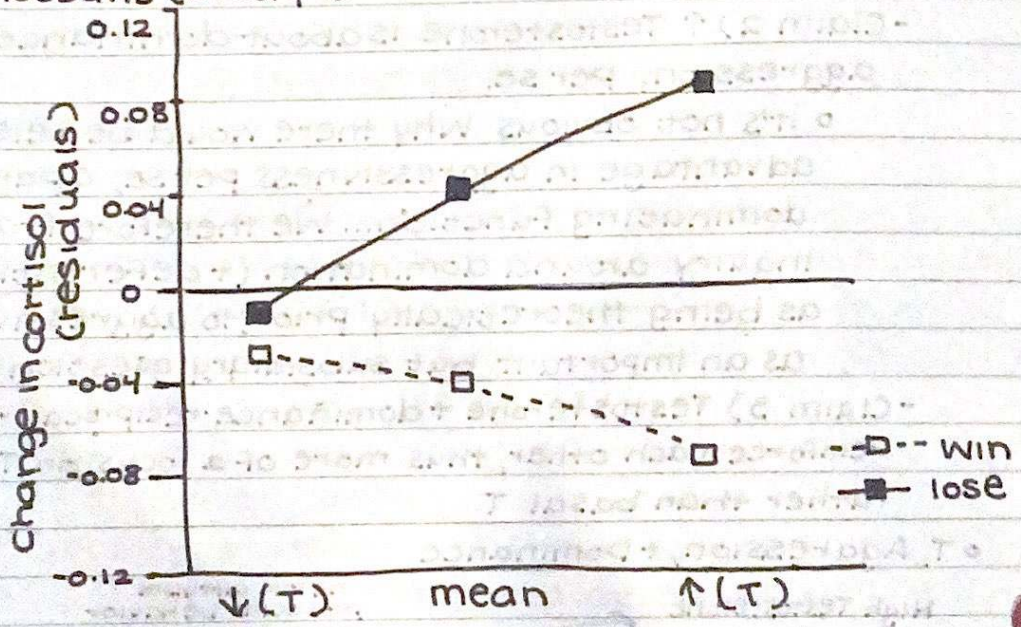
- Mehta, Jonas, + Josephs, 2008
  - Important Background:
    - Cortisol = hormone associated w/ resource managment; levels often ↑ in response to stressful situations
    - Stress operationalized as an ↑ in cortisol
      - If (T) is associated w/ status, then an ↑ in basal (T) should result in an ↑ in cortisol activity when status is threatened
  - Dog agility competition
    - participants highly invested
    - public (spectators)
    - Competition open to males + females.
      - saliva to establish basal (T) and cortisol
    - participants compete + recieved results
      - participants spit again for changes in cortisol
    - Results (Study 1):



- Saliva to establish basal (T) and cortisol
- participants compete + recieve results
- Spit again for change in cortisol

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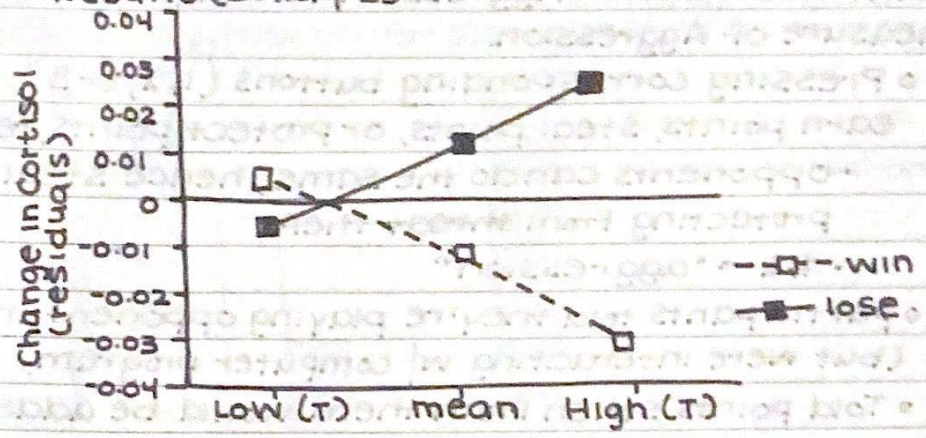
- Results (study 2):



oCarré, Putman, + McCormick, 2008

- overall experimental design:
  - Saliva samples taken to establish pre-competition (T) levels (39 men, 69 women)
  - participants took trait dominance survey to ascertain dominance tendencies
    - competition = The Number Tracing Task
  - Saliva samples taken to establish post-competition (T) levels.
    - aggression measure = The Point Subtraction aggression measure
- important background
  - number tracing task (NTT):
    - "Starting from 1, trace a path to the highlighted number as fast you can."
  - participants competed against an opponent on 12 different NTT puzzles.
    - unbeknownst to participants, (1/2) recieved 8 easy and 4 hard puzzles, and the other half recieving 4 easy + 8 hard puzzles.
      - experimentally creating a 'winner' and 'loser'

5	2	8	9	7	7
1	6	3	2	8	1
8	1	4	5	6	7
3	8	3	7	7	8

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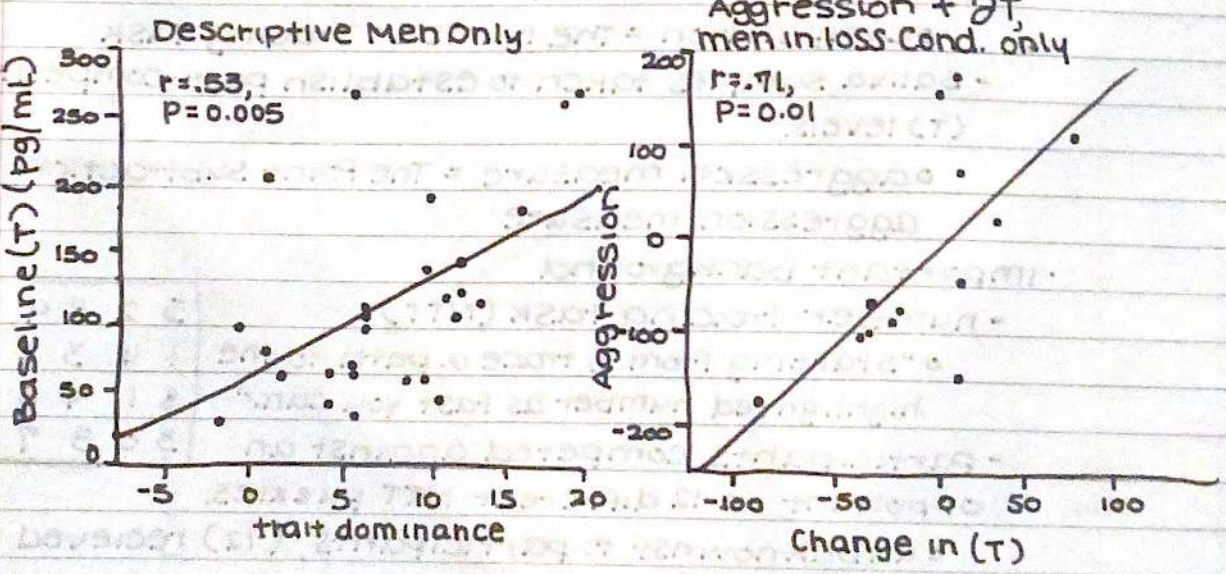
- Point Subtraction Aggression Paradigm (PSAP) - measure of Aggression.
  - Pressing corresponding buttons (1, 2, or 3), you can earn points, steal points, or protect points, respectively
    - opponents can do the same, hence stealing, and protecting from ~~threat~~ theft
    - #2 = "aggression"
  - participants told they're playing opponent in NTT (but were interacting w/ computer program)
  - Told points stolen from them would be added to opponent's score
    - Some were "randomly assigned" to experimental condition in which any points participant stole wouldn't be added to own score
      - In other words, aggression is costly vs not

- Results:



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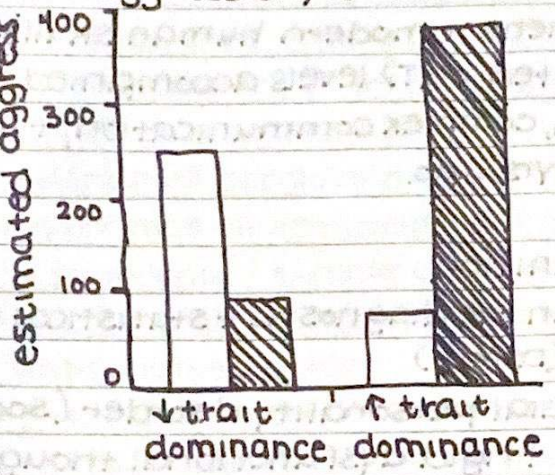
The interaction, trait dominance interacting w/ ∂T to predict aggression, for men +only in the win condition.



- High (T): Not all "Bad"
  - ultimatum game: in-group, neutral out-group, unknown out-group, and antagonist out-group
    - ↑ (T) levels were associated w/ relatively ↑ in-group favoritism and also enhanced out-group hostility
    - sig. relation b/w (T) and parochial altruism could be demonstrated, only in presence of intergroup competition
      - moral of the story: In human males, (T) may promote group coherence in the face of external threat, even against the urge to selfishly maximize personal reward. In that way, our observation refutes the view that (T) generally promotes antisocial behavior, and aggressive responses, but underlines specific role in fine-tuning of male social cognition.
        - Diekhof, Wittmer, + Reimers (2014)
- That being said...
  - Did ↓ (T) help civilize humanity?
    - Cieri et al. 2014 (anthropological study): composite image shows facial diff. b/w ancient modern human w/ heavy brows + lg upper face + more recent modern human w/ rounder fts. + much less prominent brow.

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- prominence of features can be directly traced to the influence of (T)
  - studied 1,400 ancient + modern human skulls
  - results suggested ↓ (T) levels accompanied development of cooperation, complex communication, + modern culture 50,000 yrs. ago.

- Psychopathy
  - psychopathy - A definition
    - No "psychopathy" in the diagnostic + statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM-V)
      - Instead - antisocial personality disorder (Sociopathy)
    - deeply ingrained + rigid dysfunctional thought process that focuses on social irresponsibility w/ explosive, delinquent, and criminal behavior w/ no remorse. Disregard / violation of others rights = common manifestations
    - display symptoms include:
      - failure to conform to law.
      - inability to sustain consistent employment
      - deception
      - manipulation for personal gain
      - incapacity to form stable relationships.
  - Antisocial Personality Disorder
    1) persuasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, since 15, as indicated by 3 (or more) of the following
       - failure to conform to social norms concerning lawful behaviors, such as performing acts that are grounds for arrest.
       - deceitfulness, repeated lying, use of alieses, or conning others for pleasure / personal profit
       - impulsivity / failure to plan
       - irritability + aggressivness, often w/ physical fights or assaults
       - reckless disregard for safety of self / others

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- consistent irresponsibility, failure to sustain consistent work behavior, or honor monetary
- lack of remorse, being indifferent to or rationalizing having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another person.

2) Individual is at least 18
3) evidence of conduct disorder typically w/ onset before 15
4) occurrence of antisocial behavior not exclusively during schizophrenia / bipolar disorder
   - Child conduct disorder is a reliable predictor of adulthood antisocial behavior
     - Conduct Disorder: characterized by severe antisocial + aggressive behaviors that inflict pain on others or or involve destruction of property or denial of rights of others

o Psychopathy - A Definition:
- Pinel, 1792: First noteworthy "stab" at definition
  "madness without delirium"
  - denotes lack of morality + behavior control ("madness"), despite absence of psychotic symptoms/ deficits in intellectual function ("without delirium")
- Hervey Cleckley, 1941: narrowed psychopathy to 16 characteristics:
  - Callous
  - Shallow
  - Superficial
  - nomadic
  - lack of insight/ empathy for how their behavior affects others
  - impulsive
  - weak behavioral control
- Hare, 1980, 2003 (revised)
  - Psychopathy Checklist-revised (PCL-R)
    - most widely accepted diagnostic instrument for psychopathy
    - 3 point scale
      - 0 = does not apply
      - 1 = applies somewhat
      - 2 = definitely applies

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